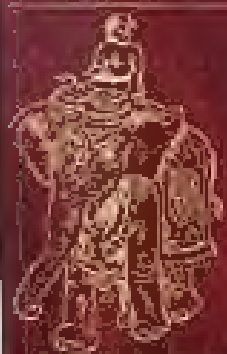


THE
MADURA
COUNTRY
A MANUAL

FIVE PARTS IN ONE VOLUME



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THE MARAVANS or inhabitants of the two Zamindâris, and perhaps the oldest caste in the country, are nowadays only about half as numerous as the Vellâlans: whereas two or three hundred years ago they must have been by far the most numerous, as they were undoubtedly the most powerful of all the castes in the Pândya country. History shows clearly that the Kings of Râmnâd in the seventeenth century held a very good position amongst the potentates of the south; and a letter of a Jesuit missionary, which will be referred to in the proper place, shows that at that time the King of Râmnâd could assemble an army of as many as 40,000 Maravans within one or two days' time. How comes it then that in 1850-51 there were only something less than 80,000 Maravans in the whole District? I think the race must have been almost killed off by perpetually recurring famines. In 1814 Mr. Turnbull, a Surveyor, reported officially that in consequence of terrible distress 150,000 souls, it was calculated, had emigrated from the Râmnâd and Sivagangoi countries in the three or four years preceding: whilst Colonel Fullarton, in his Report dated 7th January 1785, only thirty years before, described the country as being both well cultivated and well peopled. Whatever may have been the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that the numbers of the Maravans have been woefully reduced; and that they are no longer what they once were, a fine and numerous race.

With regard to the origin of the Maravans, it is to be observed that there exists amongst them a picturesque tradition to the effect, that in consequence of their assisting Rāma in his war against the demon Rāvana, that deity gratefully exclaimed in good Tamil *maravāṇa* or "I will never forget;" and that they have ever since been called Maravana. But with more probability the name may be connected with the word *maram* (மரம்) which means killing, ferocity, bravery and the like, as pointing clearly to their unpleasant profession, that of robbing and slaying their neighbours.

The Maravans inhabit the great Zamindāria, and particularly the tracts lying near the sea coast. History shows that in old times they were a fierce and turbulent race, and the terror of their neighbours; and they gave the British much trouble at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. But their habits have much changed in the last sixty years: and they are now much like other ryots, though perhaps somewhat more bold and lawless. They live almost entirely by cultivation, and are considered to be one of the lowest of the respectable castes, although the Sēthupatis of Rāmnād and the Rājas of Sivagangai have always been men of the Marava caste. The Jesuits at one time made many converts amongst them, and appear to have regarded them as a very promising race: but they seem to have found out that their opinion was erroneous.

The most full description extant of the Maravans appears to be that contained in the *Marava-Jathi Varnanam* (sic) translated by the indefatigable Mr. Taylor at page 354 of the 4th Volume of the *Madras Journal*; and it will be well to give here a few particulars gathered principally therefrom.

It seems that there are seven well-marked subdivisions of the caste, viz:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1. The 'Sembu-nāttu | Maravans |
| 2. The Kondayan-kōttei | do. |
| 3. The Apantir-nāttu | do. |
| 4. The Agatā | do. |
| 5. The Ūrūr (i Orsiyūr) nāttu | do. |
| 6. The Upu-kōttei | do. |
| 7. The Kurichi-kattu | do. |

And amongst these subdivisions the first is the principal. There are also other and minor subdivisions, which it is unnecessary to specify.

The religion of the Maravans is nominally the Saiva: but they worship with zeal and fervour only their own peculiar demons, Karuppana-Sûmi, B'hadra-kâli, Mathursi Viran, and others, which they habitually propitiate with offerings of liquor, flesh, and fruits. And they themselves freely eat flesh and drink liquor, in direct opposition to the precepts of the Saiva faith. Their customs differ fundamentally from those of ordinary Hindûs in many important matters. In the first place they permit intermarriage between cousins whose two fathers are brothers. Then except in the case of the women of the Sambu-nâttu division, it is customary for widows to re-marry, and for wives who cannot agree with their husbands to procure divorce from them and marry again. It was customary for the widows of the Sêthupati and of the Sambu-nâttu Maravans generally to practise Sati, until prevented by the British Government; but not for those of any of the other divisions.

The manner of performing the marriage ceremony is very peculiar. After a marriage has been agreed to by the principal members of two families, a few of the relations of the intended bridegroom go to the house of the bride, and there with or without the bridegroom and bride's consent tie upon her neck the *idli*, the insigns of matrimonial union, whilst conch shells are being loudly blown outside. After this they escort her to the house of the bridegroom, who usually but not necessarily awaits their coming. A feast is then given to the friends of both parties, which lasts for a few days according to the means of the giver; processions are formed through the town; a coconut is broken before Vig'bûshwara; and certain ceremonies are performed under a marriage *pandal* or booth. If however the parties be too poor to afford all these rites and entertainments, the tying of the *idli* alone is performed at first; and the man and woman begin to cohabit forthwith: but at some time the other ceremonies must certainly be performed, and as the phrase goes "the defect must be cured." Some times the ancillary ceremonies will take place after the wife has born three or four children. And should the husband happen to die before he can afford to cure the defect, his friends and relations will at once borrow some money, and the marriage will be duly completed in th presence and in behalf of the corpse, which must be placed on an mat with the woman and be made to represent a bridegroom. Th *idli* is then taken off, and the widow is free to marry again as soon as she may please.

All Maravans bear the title of Tēvan, which I suppose corresponds with the Dēva and Dōwa of more northern countries.

The relative position of the Sēthupati, or head of the Maravans and hereditary ruler of Rāmnād, as respects caste and birth, appears from the following rules of court etiquette. The Rāja Tondiman of Puttu-kōttai, the Rāja of Sivagangai, and the eighteen chiefs of the Tanjore country must stand before him with the palms of their hands joined together and stretched out towards the presence. The chiefs of Tinnevely, such as Katabōma Nāyakkan of Panjāla-Kuricchi, Serumali Nāyakkan of Kadal-kudai, and the Tokkala Tottiyans, being all of inferior caste, should prostrate themselves full length before the Sēthupati; and after rising must stand and not be seated. But the Sillavas and others of Ettiyāpuram; and the Marava chiefs of Vadagarai, Shokkampatti, Uttamalai, Settūru, Sarandai and other tracts; and the Vanniya chiefs of Sivagiri of seven thousand fields, and of Dalavan-kōttei; all these make no obeisance of any kind to the ruler of Rāmnād.

The dress of the Maravans is peculiar in some respects. They wear the hair very long. With the exception of the chiefs, both men and women lengthen the lobes of their ears to the extent of several inches, by hanging weights in them; and wear attached to them wonderfully large and heavy metal ornaments. The men generally wear handkerchiefs round the head, and never tie turbands. The rulers of the tribes on special occasions wear turbands, handsome silk robes, and gorgeous jewels, according to the ordinary customs of Hindūs.

Properly speaking every Maravan should be a warrior, and should hold lands on a Military tenure. At the time when the MS. from which the above description is taken was written, the following was the scale upon which lands were granted by the Sēthupati and other chiefs to their dependants. An ordinary foot soldier carrying a sword and spear was granted a piece of land capable of yielding him per annum five *kalams* of rice; a musketeer was granted land yielding seven *kalams*; a *Sarboji* bearer land yielding nine; and a captain of a hundred men land yielding fifty. Out of the produce of these lands a tribute of five *fanams* was payable to the chief for each *kalam* of produce raised.

Of the Maravans who are not soldiers by profession, a portion ought properly to serve in the Palace and Public Offices, enjoying a remission of tribute as remuneration for their services; the remainder should live by cultivating lands, paying the tax universally prevalent

throughout the Zamindaris until late years, namely the *whisei-saven*, or amount of grain payable in good and bad seasons alike, and calculated on the ascertained average yield of the land held.

Many other interesting particulars might be given touching the manners and customs of this primitive tribe: but I have already exceeded my available space, and must pass on to another tribe.

Eleven Maravans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height.		CIRCUMFERENCE OF										Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
				Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.			
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	52	5	8½	1	9	1	1½	2	10½	0	10½	1	6½	147	Taller and heavier than most of the castes.
2	22	4	4½	1	9	1	0	2	8½	0	8½	1	3½	98	
3	23	5	5	1	9½	1	1	2	10	0	9½	1	6½	118	
4	35	6	0	1	8½	1	0	2	9½	0	9½	1	3½	117½	
5	30	5	4½	1	9½	1	0½	2	8½	0	9	1	8	110	
6	35	5	7½	1	8½	1	0½	2	7½	0	9½	1	4½	121	
7	46	5	5	1	8½	1	0½	2	6½	0	8½	1	5	112	
8	20	5	3½	1	8½	1	0½	2	8	0	8½	1	4½	121	
9	30	5	8	1	9	1	1	2	8	0	8½	1	6	115½	
10	30	5	2	1	8	0	11½	2	6½	0	7½	1	1½	88½	
11	35	5	4½	1	8½	1	½	2	7½	0	8	1	8½	109½	
Total....		62	11½	12	0½	11	5½	20	8½	7	11½	15	5½	1,255½	
Average.		5	5½	1	8½	1	0½	2	8½	0	8½	1	4½	114½	

THE AHAMBADIYANS as shown in the legend given above are closely connected with the Maravans by descent: and they also resemble them most closely in appearance, habits and customs. The chiefs of the Maravans are accustomed to marry Ahambadiya women: and of the children born of such marriages, the males must marry Ahambadiya females, and belong to their wives' caste; whilst the females must marry Maravans, and belong to their husband's caste.

The ordinary agnomen or titular name of an Ahambadiyan is *Sârvei-karan*.

The Ahambadiyans are a trifle less numerous than the Maravans; as they are a trifle inferior to them in estimation.

No.	Age			Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	27	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	119	Compare with Marave statement.
2	39	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	92	
3	30	5	9	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	3	0	0	11	1	0	168	
4	24	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	
5	18	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	102	
6	24	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	119	
7	30	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	11	0	10	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	123	
8	32	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	
9	25	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	94	
10	25	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	108	
11	38	5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	9	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	91	
12	35	5	5	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total...		54	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	30	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,324 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Average.		5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	

THE KALLANS (Orme's Colleries) are in many respects the most remarkable of all the castes in the Madura District, and require a rather lengthy notice as having played an important part in history.

Their profession is said to be that of stealing with or without violence according to circumstances, and their name *Kallan* which is also that for a thief or robber in several of the languages of Southern India is supposed to have been given to them as indicative of their peculiar mode of earning a livelihood. Now without going so far as to declare that this so generally prevalent idea is incorrect, I must say there are some grounds for doubting its correctness; and shall state them shortly hereafter in the proper place.

The history of the caste has been given with some fulness in the Survey Account, and it will be well before describing their very curious manners and customs to give the substance of the information which the report contains, observing at the same time by way of preface that its statements do not altogether agree with those of the authorities followed in Part IV of this work.

According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kū Nādu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl Nādu* or western country. The *Kū Nādu* comprises the *Nādu*s of *Mēlūr*, a village situated about sixteen miles east of Madura, *Vellūr* and *Sirugudi*: and its inhabitants, whose surnames are usually *Ambalakāran* are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the *Vella* (*Vala*?) *Nādu* near *Kānchipuram* (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadīs* or boomerangs. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Mēlūr*, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it. Accordingly they entered into negotiations with the *Vellāians* who were lords of the soil, and eventually took service under them. In the course of time they invited their relatives and friends to come and join them, and a numerous Kalla community gradually sprang up.

The masters and servants did not succeed in living amicably together. The Kallans behaved or were thought to behave badly, and were frequently punished for their misdoings; they resisted and retaliated; and at last they compelled their masters to draw up a set of rules for their (the Kallans') protection.

These rules were the following —

1. If a Kallan lost a tooth through a blow given by his master, the latter was to be fined ten Kali Chakrams.
2. If a Kallan had his ear torn under punishment, his master must pay a fine of six Kali Chakrams.
3. If a Kallan had his skull fractured, his master must pay thirty Chakrams, or in default have his own skull fractured.
4. If a Kallan had his arm or leg broken, his master must pay a fine of twenty Chakrams, give the injured man a certain amount of grain, clothes, &c., and likewise grant him in fee-simple as much Nanjey land as could be sown with a kalam of seed, and two kuruk-kams of Punjay land.
5. If a Kallan were killed, his master must pay a fine of one hundred Chakrams, or in default be put at the mercy of the murdered man's relatives.

As might be expected, the Vellalans' hold over the Kallans was very soon lost after the promulgation of these rules; and in the course of time the Vellalans were reduced to great poverty, and eventually ousted bodily from their possessions. Many of them were

also treacherously murdered, and the remainder were forced to emigrate. After this the Kallans called their newly acquired territory *Than-aravu Nādu* or the "independent country," and set the then Government at defiance.

And they showed respect only to the Alagar-Swāmi or God of the great Alagar-Kōvil, to whom they habitually make large offerings and whom they have always regarded as their own peculiar Deity.

In the time of the Kartākkal, that is to say the Nāyakkan dynasty, the Kallans steadily refused to pay tribute, arguing always when called upon to pay like other castes that "The Heavens supplied the earth with rain, their cattle ploughed the land, and they cultivated it, and therefore there was no possible reason why they should pay anything." And their conduct was generally so violent and aggressive that bodies of troops marching from Trichinopoly to Tinnevely

or *vice versa* found it expedient to avoid the direct road through the Mēlūr Nādu and chose a circuitous route.

In the reign of Vijaya Raghunātha Sēthupathi the Kallans made a raid into his kingdom, and drove off two thousand head of cattle. This audacity so greatly enraged the Sēthupathi that he forthwith established nine fortresses in the heart of the robbers' country, and having lulled them into a sense of security by all kinds of deceitful promises, contrived at last to get them into his power, and massacred a vast number of them in cold blood.

This scarcely justifiable proceeding broke the spirit of the chiefs of the survivors, and they afterwards paid their respects annually to the Sēthupathi in company with the Kalla Chiefs of the neighbouring Nādu of Mallang-kōttai which lay within the Sēthupathi's dominions. But they continued nevertheless to be independent of the Government, i. e., the Madura Government, until the year 1772.

During the period of Mohammad Yūsuf Khān's administration a temporising policy was adopted by that able ruler of men in his dealings with the Mēlūr Kallans, and though he built a fort at Mēlūr and another at Vellālapatti, he did not attempt to exact tribute from them; but contented himself with fomenting jealousies amongst the principal men of the caste, and teaching them to habitually refer their disputes to him as the common mediator and supreme arbitrator. By this means he succeeded in keeping them in tolerably good order, and no doubt attached them to his cause when at last he found it necessary to rebel against the Nabob Mohammad Ali.

After the execution of Mohamoud Yásuf Khán, and the termination of the Pongar war in Tinnevely, it was found necessary to send a considerable force against the Mátir Kámas under the command of Captain Rumney. This officer was a man of ability and of an iron will, and after burning their principal villages, and mercilessly slaying about three thousand men women and children in a single day, he soon succeeded in reducing the refractory Nátáms or heads of the Nádus to obedience. This however was but a short-lived success and strongly coercive measures became once more necessary. Captain Rumney now resolved to compel the Nátáms to pay an annual tribute at the same rate as those of Maliang-kótti and after expending much time and labor upon the business, and after another massacre, eventually succeeded in enforcing his plan. The Nádus were then surveyed, and found to contain 400 cheys of

Nanjay and 20,000 kurukkams of Panjey and Captain Ramsey marched away feeling satisfied that his presence was no longer required.

In 1781 occurred the memorable disturbances consequent on Hyder Ali's descent upon Madras and the Kallans took advantage of this opportunity to break out once more into rebellion, and commit the wildest excesses. They even went so far as to march upon Madras and Mallikar Rao, the Nabob's general, was killed in an affair under the very walls of the city.

Nothing could be done for some time but in 1784 Captain Oliver came upon the Kallans with a detachment, and speedily overawed them. Shortly afterwards the Nadus were again surveyed by Mr. Torr, the Collector in charge of the Tinnevely, Madurai and Meliur Districts, and found to contain 6,000 cheys of Nanjey and 24,000 kurukkams of Panjey.

From 1786 to 1790 the Nabob's Amaldars were charged annually and the Kallans were enabled under that system to maintain their independence.

In 1791 Mr. McLach took them in hand and by promises induced them to pay up arrears.

From 1793 to 1801 there were no less than ten different officers in charge of the administration of the Madurai country and consequently the Kallans did much as they pleased.

In 1801 the District was finally incorporated with the Company's

In 1801 the District was finally incorporated with the Company's territories and from that time forth the Kallans have given but little trouble.

The history of the Mēi Nādu or west country Kallans is told as follows. About the year 1640 the great Tirumala Nāyakkān granted to certain Kallans of Mēlūr some *śāhā* — one and the right of collecting *keṭṭā* or watching fees from the District of Tiberumār near Madura, in consideration of their protecting the same from robbery and deeds of violence. Relying upon this grant the recipients encroached step by step, until at last they or their descendants penetrated as far as the village of Āneyūr, and there firmly established themselves. In the course of time they grew estranged from the parent stock and were distinguished as the Āneyūr or Mēi Nādu Kallans. Their government is usually Tēvar as is that of the Mara-

vans. They have gradually pushed their way from village to village, until they have reached the extreme end — the great valley of Dinidigu.

Such is the history of the Kallans as recorded in the Surrey Account, and supposing the earlier part of it to be drawn on traditional accounts, it is satisfactory to find that it is not inconsistent with the tradition touching the first coming of the Kallans noticed at page 28 ante, whilst it varies from it to so great an extent as to rebut the suggestion that it is one with it, but modified by the caprice or forgetfulness of its narrator. There seems to be good ground for the inference that the Kallans came into the District at a period subsequent to the great immigration of the Veṅṅians described at page 28 ante, that they quarreled with the Veṅṅians, and finally succeeded in ousting them from their hereditary estates, and that they lived ever afterwards in a state of more or less antagonism to the rising power at Madura.

I must now notice another tradition current in the District, which is to the effect that few Kallans were settled in the Pānīya country before the time of the pseudo-Pandya, the sons of Abhirāma too Dancing girl of Kāṣṭhā-kāṣṭhā and that those pretenders invited Kallans to come from the Chōṣa-mandalam, and employed them as mercenary troops to operate against the then Government (see Part III page 88) and that from that time forth the Kallans began to grow very numerous.

This story would seem to be in admirable accord with that told in the Survey Account and to corroborate it very strongly. Nothing can be more probable than that the party in favor of the pretenders should have applied to the Kallans for assistance, and if they did so apply the result would naturally be an influx into the country of numberless friends and clansmen of those Kallans. And such an influx would account satisfactorily for the circumstance to which notice has been directed at page 80, that the Vaidikans had sunk into insignificance before the establishment of the Madura Mission at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The sons of Abhirāma and their immediate successors were ousted from Madura and established themselves securely in the neighbourhood of Srivelliputtūr in the Tinnavely District about the year 1500 and if the Kallans were their partisans, the circumstance would account for the presence of so many numbers of the caste in Tinnevely in the middle of the last century.

and the bride's ever dearly loved may be as young as the bride herself. A boy or girl is usually betrothed even if age be less than fifteen years. If the father insists upon him as doing his duty, he must marry him, and he has a daughter and she must marry him, no account of age or of what ever may be the woman's age.

When a wedding takes place the sister of the bride goes to the house of the parents of the bride and presents them with twenty-one Kāfi Fanams and a cloth, and at the same time some other valuable thing. The bride has been well groomed and has arrived to the house of the bridegroom where a feast is prepared. Sheep are slaughtered and are kept ready, and all partake of the good cheer provided. After this the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the house of the bride, the ceremony of an exchange between them of gifts. This is or was formerly performed. A number of the guests in the bride's house and the bride is placed in a room, and the bridegroom is placed in a room. The ceremony is complete in every respect.

During the first two or three days after the marriage it is customary for the bridegroom to visit his parents and to present them on their departure with a portion of rice and a cloth. At the close of the first *Pongal* feast after the marriage, presents customarily given to the bride are five or six pairs of rice, two loads of paddy, a pair of five hundred of paddy, five cows, etc., and five clumps of jaggery.

A woman cannot be divorced on either side. A husband disinherited a wife can never get away, he is willing at the same time to give her half of his property, and a wife can never get divorced at will upon forfeiture of forty-two Kāfi Fanams.

A widow may marry any man she fancies, if she can induce him to make her a present of ten Fanams.

Both males and females are accustomed to stretch to the utmost possible limit the uses of their ears. The unpleasant disfigurement is effected by the mother boring the ears of her baby and inserting heavy pieces of metal, generally lead, into the apertures. The effect so produced is very wonderful, and it is not at all uncommon to see the ears of a Kanna hanging on his shoulders. When violently

angry a Kalia would sometimes tear in one the suspended cartilage of flesh which constitutes his ears expecting thereby to compel his adversary to acknowledge as a sort of *consecrated honorable* and inter-dictions between women constantly lead to one or both parties having the ears violently pulled asunder.

And formerly where a Kalia girl was deputed, as frequently happened, to guide a stranger in safety through a Kalia tract, if any of her caste-people attempted to offer violence to her charge in spite of her protestations she would immediately tear open one of her ears and run off at full speed to her home to complain of what had been done. And the result of her complaint was invariably a sentence to the effect amongst other things that the culprit should have both their ears torn in expiation of their breach of the *dy-laws* of the forest.

The savage disposition of the Kalias appears sufficiently from the following description of a custom which exceeds in atrocity almost every crime of violence of which history affords an example. The Survey Account states that:—

The women indulge the disposition of disposition of the men in most of their actions they are inflexibly vindictive and furious on the least injury even in suspicion when prompt to the most violent revenge without any regard to consequences. A horrible custom exists among the females of the Cheries when a quarrel or dissension arises between them, the injured woman brings her child to the house of the aggressor and kills it at her door to avenge herself, a thing for which vengeance is attended with the most

" was taken into notice by the public policy and the law of nations as
 " a neighbouring village with a her genus, &c. in this attempt she
 " is opposed by her neighbours which gives rise to clamour and
 " outrage. the complaint is then carried to the head A councilor
 " who lays it before the elders of the village and solicits their
 " interference to terminate the quarrel. In the course of this inves-
 " tigation, if the husband finds that sufficient evidence has been
 " brought against his wife that she had given cause for provocation
 " and aggression. then he proceeds unobserved by the assembly to
 " his house and brings one of his children, and in the presence of
 " witnesses kills his child at the door of his woman who had first
 " killed her child at his by this mode of proceeding he considers
 " that he has saved himself from trouble and expense which would

" otherwise have devolved on him. This circumstance is soon
 " brought to the notice of the tribunal, who proclaim that the
 " offence committed is sufficiently avenged. But should this volunt-
 " ary retribution of revenge not be executed by the convicted
 " person. the tribunal is prorogued to a limited time. fifteen days
 " generally. Before the expiration of that period one of the children
 " of the convicted person must be killed at the same time he is to
 " bear all expenses for providing food, &c. for the assembly during
 " three days. Such is the inhuman barbarity in avenging outrage
 " which proves the innate cruelty of the people and the unrestrained
 " barbarity of their manners and morals."

With this account may be compared the following passage
 from Orme :—

" Father Martin a Jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighbouring country of Moravar. describes the Colerics as more barbarous than any savages in any part of the globe. asserting that when two of the nation, either male or female have a quarrel with one another each is obliged by an inviolable custom to suffer and perform whatever torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on himself or any of his family, and that the fury of revenge operates so strongly amongst them, that a man for a slight affront has been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to have the malicious satisfaction of compelling his adversary to commit the like murders in his own family but fortunately for the honor of human nature none of the English Officers have hitherto been able to distinguish any traces of these diabolical practices. " and the Jesuit stands single in his assertion."

Now in a matter like this, the authority of a Jesuit who lived amongst the Kallans and was accustomed to compare his own experiences with those of other Jesuits similarly circumstanced, seems infinitely superior to that of any number of British Officers who merely marched through the country from time to time or were quartered at Madura and other stations not in the Kalla country. and who for aught that appears to the contrary never took the trouble to make enquiries touching the manners and customs of a low and despised race. And the corroborative evidence afforded by the Survey Account is very strong. I have unfortunately not had leisure to ascertain correctly by enquiry how far the account above given is entitled to credence, but I am inclined to give credence to it as a

which is now doing us a daily labour of it. As crimes such as these are not and cannot be perpetrated under British rule. The Survey Report is very hard on the western Kallans. It says of them that they "possess none of the virtues nor the genius and interesting qualities which are peculiarly characteristic of the industrious workman. They are in general indolent and perfidious; they commit every sort of excess and cruelty, and in fact 'are capable of the foulest crimes'."

Amongst the crimes of which they are guilty or supposed to be guilty is that of poverty. Their houses are represented as being very mean and poor and surrounded on a high ledge for protection. Their dress consists in the case of the males, of a common coarse cloth or a blanket tied round them and a string which he dares up their coarse and plentiful hair.

One of the customs of the western Kallans is specially curious. It constantly happens that a woman is the wife of either ten, eight, six or two husbands who are used to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be born of her body. And still more curiously when the children of such a family grow up they for some unknown reason invariably cry out themselves the children not of ten, eight or six fathers as the case may be, but of eight and two, or six and two, or four and two fathers. The following is a translation of an extract from a petition presented to the Collector of Madras in 1796, which illustrates this custom, and is for other reasons worthy of preservation now that the old times are so rapidly passing away:—

To the most exquisite beauty of beauties in whom all nature is in true perfection viewed in every respect, and equal to Maha Mary of the most fascinating mind and graceful appearance the prince for of numerous souls the unwearied and habitual inquirer into

the complaints and grievances of all injured people the ever pleasing delight and joy of all friendly and social people who when he takes his meals is surrounded by thousands at the goodly feet of your High Mightiness de we, Terra Tewan and his seven brethren, the sons of six and two fathers, with our legs closed, mouths covered, garments thrown between our legs standing afar off, venerating with hands clasped together and up-lifted praising and adoring your merciful and charitable disposition protecting ourselves, and looking up to your honourable person, to the north

"ward presume to say this to Lambie supple our petition and to
"entreat your favor, pleasure and protection, &c. &c. &c."

The usual ceremony by which an individual is supposed to be passed on acquiring the rudiments of the carp profession (for which he can be naturally qualified) is as follows:—that at the age of fifteen, or possibly a little earlier, he is considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases, a privilege not accorded to younger boys who are compelled to shave the whole of the crown of the head with the exception of a small part in reserve for the *Kudam*, or tuft of hair usually worn by Hindus, and are therefore called *Avalam* or *Kalam* *Piduvigal*. At the same time it is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the name of one of his female relations.

The western *Kalams* do not intermarry with the eastern, and are supposed to observe in all the same marriage ceremonies as ordinary Hindû castes.

Kalams burn and bury their dead. A Hindû, however, though ready to acknowledge the same funeral services, and even to accompany him in the thing may appear to be it is nevertheless considered a crime, but rarely found the majority of the *Kalams* in the Madras District observe it. The origin of this practice I have endeavored in vain to discover. It seems to be allowed on all sides that the practice is very ancient, and no native history of the *Kama* caste is procurable in the Madras District.

Enough however has been said to show what a very remarkable non-Hindû caste the *Kalams* are, and it is to be hoped that somebody with sufficient leisure will hereafter tell the world all about them.

Very much valuable information might be supplied by the chief of the *Kalams* of the north, the Raja of Perakuteras, I sought for information in that quarter, but unfortunately no notice was taken of my application. I may add in concluding my notice that I have been informed that the *Kalams* were of all the castes of Madras and the Mahometans "and *pirars*" or brimstone men (*Moplahs*) and this circumstance coupled with that of the adoption of the rite of circumcising would seem to point to a forcible conversion of their progenitors and a subsequent lapse into idolatry. Perhaps the Kurumbans of the Tondamandalam who escaped extermination fled northwards into the arms of the Mahometans, and after being by them deprived of caste reappeared in the south as *Kalams*?

Twelve Kaimas were measured and weighed by Doctor Cooper and the following results were obtained, viz:—

Circumferences or															
		Height		Head		Neck		Chest		Arms.		Thigh		Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
No.	Age.	Feet Inches	Inches	Feet Inches	Inches	Feet Inches	Inches	Feet Inches	Inches	Feet Inches	Inches	Feet Inches	Inches		
1	40	3	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Very young		
2	50	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	4	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	Well kept			
3	32	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	0	1	4	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		73				
4	23	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	Very young		
5	40	1	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	10		43	Very well		
6	23	3	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	3	0	0	4	4	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	Maximum.		
7	50	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	84			
8	38	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	9	0	3	7	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	130		
9	20	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3	7	38		
10	20	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	30		
11	50	3	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	93			
12	40	2	2	0	1	0	2	3	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	101			
Total.		33 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	20	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	724	
Average.		5	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		97 $\frac{1}{2}$	

We come now to some less important cases.

CHAPTER V.

Lingaya and Visvanatha III The death of Arya Nityaga.

Important results.—Extent of the Madura territory.

The Rājā Venkayapa Lord Paramount of Madura.—

The murder of Kasturi. Re-establishment of the Sēthupatt — Origin of the Marava dynasty. Its antiquity.

The seven chiefs of the Mahōkasa — History of the Sēthupatis — The Governor dies leaving three sons of whom the eldest succeeds him. The state of Christianity. Robert de Nobilibus. — He calls himself a Brāhman from Rome.

His success. He is suspended for improper practices.

—Sad results. War with Mysore. War with Tanjore.

—The Virupākṣa Poligar. — The Rājā still interferes in the government of the country. — Misrule and corruption.—End of the reign.

LINGAYA, known also by the name of Kumara Krishnappa, and his brother Visvappa or Visvanatha III ruled together for a few years, doing probably much as their father and uncle had done before them, and then a very momentous event took place. This was the death of the great Arya Nityaga Mutha, in 1600 the results of which were the emancipation of the Nayakkas from approximate control, and the at least partial independence of the Madura country. That this was a beneficial change there can be no question. The protector of the Nayakkas was grown old and feeble, and his continued presence in Madura must have checked all desire for improve-

With the exception of this crime, the one remarkable event of Mutta Krishnappa's governorship was the re-establishment of the ancient Marava dynasty of Sēthupatis or guardians of the lathms of Rāmēshwara on the throne of Rāmnād. It is not quite clear how this came about nor what was the actual extent and political position of the Rāmnād country at this time. From a comparison of the "History of the Karnataca Governors" with a short "account of the Sēthupatis" translated by Mr Taylor and with an historical memorandum kindly furnished to me by Pannusāmi Tēvan the present manager of the Rāmnād Zamindār, it seems probable that in the time of Mutta Krishnappa the Rāmnād country, that is to say all the country between Madura and the sea coast, was under the management of two Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Madura and that these officers were quite unequal to the task of keeping the dependency in order. Thick jungles had sprung up in every direction the roads were infested with gangs of robbers, every village had its fort, and levied black mail from pilgrims passing on their way to the holy shrine at Rāmēshwara, and nothing in the shape of revenue could be collected from the wild, untamable race who owned the cultivable lands. The Vairāgis, the lawless Vaishnava devotees from the north, who were accustomed to flock every year in thousands to Rāmēshwara were daily petitioning the Governor and clamouring for the restoration of the country to a Marava prince, entitled Sadeika Tēvan Udayār Sēthupati, who was, or was supposed to be a direct descendant of the ancient Rāmnād stock, and who alone, it was believed, could keep the country in order and protect pilgrims and travellers from violence. And yielding at last to the importunate solicitations of these self-styled holy men, and probably being perfectly sensible of the advantage of making the

prince a friendly vassal in place of an angry enemy the Governor somewhere about the year 1605 sent for him, and having satisfied himself as to his fitness to govern the dependency had him crowned as *Sēthupati* in a town in the Rāmnād country called Pōkalūr with great pomp and ceremony and at the same time made him chief of the seventy-two Pālayakāraṇa. The newly-appointed *Sēthupati* was a man of energy and conduct, and soon gave the Governor cause to congratulate himself on having acted as he had. The waste lands were gradually reclaimed, robbery and violence were checked and in a short time the country began to wear a new and healthful aspect. The towns of Rāmnād and Pōkalūr were fortified and improved. The important villages Vadakku-Vattakam, Kāṇayār-Kōvil, and Pattamangalam were taken from refractory chiefs, and a considerable annual tribute was remitted to Madurai, after allowing for all the expenses of the subordinate government and for the

personal expenditure of the Sēthupati. Nor was this satisfactory state of things merely transitory. For Sadaika Tēvan ruled his people for several years, firmly but with moderation, and when he died in 1621 (?) his son Kūttan was allowed to succeed him.

I think there can be but little doubt that such in substance were the circumstances in which the Sēthupati was restored. But the question naturally arises, how ancient and important was the territory which he thus gained? Professor Wilson has given in his catalogue (see vol. 1, p. 195) an abstract of a manuscript in the McKenzie collection from which it appears that the author of it understood the Maravaas to be a tribe which had been originally transplanted from Ceylon and of which certain members had been appointed Sēthupatis or custodians of the Isthmus of Rāmtēshwara, by Rāma the hero. They were long subject to the Pāndyas, but in the course of time became sufficiently powerful to shake off their yoke and at last made their masters their servants, and they remained lords paramount of the Pāndya kingdom for no less than eleven generations and during these reigns ruled over the whole of the south of India. Finally they were driven back to the south of the river Kāvēri by the Karumba princes of Alakkāpuri and Madurai and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanagar Rāyar. Then again the appointment of Sēthupatis by Rāma is expressly mentioned in Ponnusāmi Tēvan's memorandum referred to above. And from the Karnatak history it clearly appears that there was already a Sēthupati in the time of Mattu Krishnappa. So too

of the victorious Sôlâpuri, who thereupon assumed the title of "the conqueror of all countries round about, and never was his country conquered."

Sannara Kôlâcala Ray bhûktîa Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya to settle a boundary dispute between him and the Chôla. He executed his commission with fidelity and was rewarded by the Chôla with the monopoly of the pear fishery in the gulf of Manâr, whilst the Pândya conferred the following titles on him, namely Râjya Raja, Raja Paramêshvara, Râja Hîrânîka, and Raja Granthîka.

After the wars of the Pândyas between Cipe Coromandel and the river Narmaïa were ended in the reign of the Râja of Vijayanagar and the countries north of the Narmaïa under that of the Râshahî Pândya, a new reign of Hindu Kings was founded against the Mahomedans by order of the Râjâ and amongst others the Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya as his representative. The Sêthupati performed distinguished service and the Chôla, who also took part in the war ceded to the Sêthupati (apparently by order of the Râjâ), the districts of Menâr Kôva, Thiruvârûr and Thîru Kâttai. And the privilege of carrying the monkey banner and the Garuda banner was bestowed upon him, as appears from the heraldic work the *Vîrûdhâvala*.

At various times the capitals of the Sêthupati have been I êvâpura or Rândâlvara, I êdî, Raybûrâ, hâpura, and Virava Nannal.

The above are the only facts set forth in the earlier portion of the memorandum. If it shows nothing else, it shows two important circumstances most clearly viz.

1. The Sêthupati was always a vassal of the Pândya and there is no ground for the supposition that the Maravas were at one time the dominant race in the South of India.

2. The supremacy of the Râjâ of Vijayanagar over all the Kings of the South was more than established at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

It appears to me however that as far as it goes, the memorandum is worthy of great credence. Tested by the letters of the Madras Jesuits, that portion of it which gives the modern history of Rândâl is on the whole fairly correct and if the latter portion is found to be generally credible we may suppose nothing appearing to the contrary that the early portion also contains much that is true.

We must now revert to the history of Madura. Besides the establishment or restoration of the *Sédu-pati*, the only recorded acts of Muttu Krishnappa were the digging of many tanks for the benefit of worshippers, and the building of some Pagodas and *Agraharas*. He also built a small town between Madura and Sankala-muttu, which he called after himself Krishnapura, and the ruins of which (it is said) may still be traced. But his rule was very generally disturbed by no rebellions or invasions, and the country continued to grow rich and prosperous. The Governor died about 1609 A. D., leaving three sons, Muttu Virapa, Tirumala and Kancha Muttu.

Before passing on to another reign, it will be necessary to notice here briefly the state of Christianity in the Madras Kingdom towards the end of the 16th, and at the beginning of the 17th century. From a letter written by Father Albert Lacroix to the General of his society, dated 20th November 1649, it appears that there was at that time a church in Madura, resorted to by the Paravas, a caste of fishermen who lived on the sea coast and had been originally converted by Francis Xavier. Being tributary to the King of Madurai—the title of Governor or Superintendent appears to have been dropped—some of the Paravas had occasion to visit the capital from time to time, and a church had been built for their use by permission of the King, who was in alliance with the Portuguese, and placed under the care of Father Fernandez. This Missionary soon began to see that, if he confined his attention to the Christians who occasionally visited Madura, he would have little or no work to do, and he therefore attempted to convert the *Vadukans* or *Tenagu* people who had settled in Madurai. But in spite of his zeal and austerity of life, which

CHAPTER VI.

The great Tirumala. — An accident causes him to make Madhav his capital — His sickness. His death. — His name — Great public works. Madhav animated for a reign of — Tirumala determines to make himself independent — Weakness of the Vijayan. War with Mysore — Rdmappayya — Cabal against him. — Tirumala's generosity — Robert de Noddy resumes his labors — Persecution. — The halibans — Rdmala's affairs. — The Delavdy Sthapati and the Tumbri. — Tirumala sends Rdmappayya against the Delavdy Rdmappayya's conduct. His conspiracy — Beauty of the Maravans — Death of Rdmappayya — The Delavdy surprised and restored. — The Tumbri murders him. — Tirumala declares his independence. It is re-united. — Raja Rdmala Vasanta Rdmala — Tirumala changes his policy — Death of the Rdmala. His son declares war — Confederacy against him. Tirumala enters into an alliance with Golkonda. Miserable fate of the Rdmala. Golkonda attacks the Ndyanthana. — Siege of Golkonda. Tirumala's false policy — He submits to the Mdhamatana. — His cruelty to his subjects — Unpatriotic conduct — The Mysorean invasion. — The Sthapati's fidelity. Treachery. The Mysoreans utterly routed. The "hunt for noses." — Tirumala dies. Circumstances of his death — He was not a Christian. —

ed once more with robbers. And the collection of the revenues was an impossibility. What he hesitated, undecided how to act, Raghubarthe Tēvan and his younger brother Nārāyaṇa Tēvan, the nephews of the Daiavāy, placed themselves at the head of some troops, and openly declared themselves to be the masters of Rāmnād. Upon this the Tambi retreated to Madura and having made the King acquainted with the state of the dependency requested to be furnished with troops and money. But his request could not be granted. Whole armies of Vairāgis or religious devotees of the Vaiṣṇava faith, had come from the countries of the north as usual to worship at Rāmbhāwara, and had together with many other kinds of pilgrims been disappointed of the fruits of their wearisome journeyings by the disordered state of the Rāmnād country and accordingly they had for some time clamorously demanded of the King the restoration of the captive Daiavāy. By persistently importuning and petitioning him, they at last effected their object. The Daiavāy was permitted to return to Rāmnād in triumph and the Tambi was strictly enjoined to keep the peace.

After this the Daiavāy reigned for five or six years in peace and his country had begun to recover from the effects of Rāmappayya's invasion and the subsequent disturbances, when the Tambi again conspired against the Sethupati murdered him, and attempted to mount the throne about the year 1645. The principal kuaravas however refused to obey him and the country was once more menaced with all the horrors of civil warfare, when Tirumala interfered before things had gone too far. Being of opinion that the only way of

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things were gone was not being a question what was the only way of ending these troubles was by giving each of the principal claimants of the right to govern the principality a certain amount of territory and power. He resolved to divide the Rāmnāṁ kingdom into three portions and about the year 1644 the sub-division containing the capital was made over to Rag'hunātha Tēvan whilst Sivaganga was allotted to the Tamba, and Tiruvāṇnei to Tanakkā Tēvan and Nārāyaṇa Tēvan, the two younger brothers of Rag'hunātha Tēvan, conjointly. The power of the Sāthupati was thus apparently broken : and Tiruvāṇai hoped that the unpleasant Rāmnād question was once for all settled. But in this he was mistaken. Tanakkā Tēvan died shortly afterwards and Rag'hunātha Tēvan took advantage of the occasion to annex his country to his own. And there was every probability of his coming into collision with the Tambi again, when, to the great comfort of the Madure government, that troublesome

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and unscrupulous conqueror suddenly died. As a consequence of this, Rag'hunātha Tēvan became without difficulty sole master of the whole of the three sub-divisions. And as he had shortly before, in conjunction with the Tambi taken the towns of Manārkūvil, Patu-kūt-tai, Dik-kūt-tai, Aruṇāṅga and Tiruvārūr from the Tanjore kingdom, the territories of Rāmnād were now more extensive than they had been for a very long time.

About the year 1658 the whole country was thrown into a state of great nervous excitement by the spreading in every direction of one of the mysterious and extraordinary rumours, which in eastern lands spring up from time to time no one knows where or how, and after causing much speculation and alarm in the minds of even the wisest, suddenly die out at last of sheer exhaustion. It had been confidently predicted by several of those idle impostors who roam about from village to village, singing low songs and begging alms in God's name, that within a few days' time there would come from the north an infant Emperor of divine birth, who would upset all existing institutions, and usher in a millennium of peace, plenty and happiness. And this prediction was soon believed by Hindus of all classes. If any man was bold enough to laugh at the folly of his neighbours, and to expose the falsehood of those who deceived them, he was speedily silenced by frightful curses and threats of God's

wholly unequal to the task of repelling the invaders. And Tirumala being ill at the time, and no longer a young man, lost his wife and was reduced to a state of despair. However he sent off an express to the Sâthupati to march at once to his assistance, and in order to show unmistakably the desperate plight in which he found himself to be, so worded the despatch as to make it appear to be sent by the Queen, and not by himself. The Sâthupati gallantly obeyed the call, assembled 25,000 men without a moment's delay, and suddenly marching them up between the walls of Madura and the camp of the enemy, proclaimed to the King that for the present at all events he was safe. Recovering his courage Tirumala thereupon collected 35,000 of the royal troops, and having effected a junction with the Marava army offered the enemy battle. But the Mysorean commander did not feel himself strong enough to risk a general engagement, and so attempted to gain time, hoping that some expected reinforcements would make their appearance, and also hoping that he might be able to seduce Tirumala's General, a crafty Brahman, by the offer of a handsome bribe. The latter expectation was realized, and although superior in numbers, the Madura army was for some time prevented from closing with the enemy. But the Maravans were under no such contrivance, and after raising a cry of treason, and trusting

the traitor into prison fell on the Mysorean army with great fury and after a sharp encounter put them to the rout.

The enemy fell back upon a fortress, probably Dingigal, for they would scarcely have ventured to leave so strong a fort in the hands of the King, when advancing against his capital and there awaited the coming of fresh troops. In the course of a few days the Mysorean received a reinforcement of about 20,000 men and relying on this addition to his strength, offered battle. Upon this a sanguinary engagement took place, resulting in the total defeat of the invaders, after a loss on either side of nearly 12,000 killed. The Mysorean therefore fled back through the ghats in great disorder and Madura was once more free from danger.

Tirumala was so well pleased with the courage and conduct of the Sêthupati, that he determined to reward it in a right princely fashion. He bestowed on him all kinds of valuable presents, and gave him the title of Tirumala Sêthupati, and also that of Protector of the Queen's self, because he had rescued her husband from danger. He also gave him the privilege of using the lion-faced palanquin peculiar to the royal house of Madura, relieved him for ever from the

[illegible]

Virappa. Eko's tyranny. He plunders the Church^{here}. The Mohrattas in G. ng. Madura held by five^{thousand} men. The influence of Mysore in Madura declines. — 1130. Rango recovers his capital. — And begins to re-constit^{ute} his kingdom. His character. — The Moghals' slipper^{set} rebellion in Mysore. The Kilavan's intrigues. — His Minister's treachery. Persecution of Christianity. The King dies of small-pox. Death of his widow. Regency of Mangammal. — Her charitable works. Her energy. Martyrdom of John De Britta. — His wife. — His writings. Christianity flourishes. — The Kilavan invades Tanjore. His success. The trick played by the Rāja of Travancore. — War with Travancore. Tigers in Tinnevely. Sparseness of the population. Tuticorin. The Dutch. — Their commerce. The pearl-fishery in 1700. War with Tanjore. Father Bouchet's interview with the Dalavāy. — Character of the Dalavāy. — The Kilians. — Victor over Tanjore. — The Minister's astuteness. — The dam across the Kāveri. The Regency comes to an end. Mangammal's intrigue with her Minister. Her cruel fate. — A ghost story.

BEFORE passing on to another reign, it will be well to make a short digression for the purpose of looking at the state of affairs in Rāmanāda during the critical times with the description of which we have been occupied. It appears that the Sēthupati who was so faithful and valuable a servant to the great Tirumala, namely Raghunātha, after a long and useful reign of nearly thirty years appointed his nephew Rāja Sōria his successor and soon afterwards died. Thus

took possession of his ancient capital. And the Tinnerelly province also seems to have been recovered if indeed it was ever lost, which seems doubtful. The Jesuits did not concern themselves much with the extreme south of the Kingdom, and it is not easy to trace its history in their records. And native MSS apparently but rarely make mention of the Tinnerelly province. Many circumstances led to this re-habilitation of the Madura Nāyakkam, of which the following seem to have been the principal. In the first place Mysore was engaged in a protracted war with Sambhoji, and was also torn by internal strife to so great an extent as to incapacitate it from holding conquered territories which lay at any great distance from its capital. In the next place Ekaji had reduced Tanjore to such a state by his tyranny that so far from being able to attack Madura he was wholly unable to protect his own country from the joint depredations of the tribes of Kanakas and Maravans located on his frontiers. Then the Setlupati was occupied with a rebellion headed by his Dalavāy. And lastly Sambhoji seems to have devoted his whole strength to the prosecution of the war against Mysore, and altogether gave up his hold upon Madura.

In these circumstances it was an easy thing to re-construct the Kingdom, provided that his ruler were a man of some ability and spirit. And the young King now in his twentieth year would seem to have been even more than this and to have displayed an energy and independence of mind, which must have forcibly reminded the

without regard to age or sex and several others were carried out to the latter. Moreover the principal Pagodas of Srirangam and Vellore were destroyed and their enormous revenues confiscated. And thus the revolt was stamped out. Compare with this the account at page 207 of vol. i.

Whilst the young King of Madurai was slowly and painfully assembling together and building up again the fragments into which his kingdom had been split, the Kuvana Set of the Mysore was engaged in various intrigues and proceedings, the details of which it is not very easy to trace. It appears that in 1636 he took the side of the ex-Dewan Venkata Krisnappa who was in revolt against the King of Madurai. And for some reason which cannot be discovered, he entered into a confederacy with Changanur Narayana, the man whom Ekoji had supplanted at Tanjore, and who seems to have been living in perfect amity with the usurper, the agreement being that Changanur should furnish troops and money to use against Madurai, and that in consideration of this aid the Kuvana should cede to Tanjore for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pambur and Puthu Kottai. Meanwhile Kuvana, prior to the

the Emperor and Prince Kōshō. Moreover, a dewan, Pilla, the Sēthupati's Dabvay, who it will be remembered was sent to Rāmnād out of compliment in the time of Olaka Nā'ha (see ante page 207), thought proper to rebel against his master and formed a plot to seize him and Venkata Krishnappa and deliver them to the King of Madurai. But before this perfidious act could be accomplished the intended victims were apprised of what was going on and the traitor was himself seized and most cruelly punished. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was then impaled on a short stake. His brothers were punished in a like manner and his wives and near relations were put to death on the same day. As Komāra Pilla was a persecutor of the Christians, his fate seems to have afforded undue pleasure to the Jesuits and the writer of the history of John de Britto observes "un soul pour cet s'étendard e persecuteur des chrétiens et toute sa race maudite," an observation scarcely becoming in a Christian priest.

Shortly after this the royal troops overran the whole of the Marava country, and a skirmish took place near Rāmnād between them and the troops of the Sēthupati which led to no particular result. But a few days later a decisive battle was fought, in which some troops of Ekoji, sent to the Sēthupati's assistance under the command of Varaboji Panduran took part and on this occasion the advantage was

altogether on the side of the river of Battimal. The King's troops were met with drawn up apparently the way was broken at which point, as nothing more was to be met it on the contrary of those times

it is desirable that although the young King is now a student and a scholar, there was more persecution about a century than in any previous period. It was especially rife in the Marava country and had there begun to assume that more violent form which as we shall see arrived at its full development a few years later in the brutal murder of John de Britto. The sole reason for this as far as can be gathered from the various writings of the first century seems to have been the animosity excited in the minds of the Hindu clergy by the circumstances of their life and opportunities to be every day reminded in what manner it was as converts to Christianity become new converts. Had it not been for this inevitable accident and had not the society of Jesuits been suppressed in 1774, perhaps the greater part of the population as it is upon the Marava nation worked, would at the present day be Christians.

That this is no exaggerated view will be clear from the fact that Father Bouchet writing in 1790 from Madras, states that during the five years preceding his arrival, with his own hands more than an even thousand persons, and during the twenty years preceding him, had twenty thousand souls and that during this last period he had confessed more than a hundred thousand. His separate cure was one of thirty thousand souls and he was only one of many workers. And ten years later the number of converts was in excess of a million.

About the year 1698 or 99 the young King of Madras was attacked by small pox and to the misfortune of his country was carried off by that terrible disease. He left no issue, but a widow, Muttamahal, was for a century a regent, and although the country had been

to be put to death an order for his instant liberation was issued by the Madura Danavdy and obeyed without delay. As the Sēthupati of that time was the Kilavan who intended to share in the pillage of Trichunpoy, and subsequently joined Venkata Krishnappa in a successful war against the King, the fact of an order from Trichunpoy being respected within the limits of his dominions is one of some significance.

The year 1698 was rendered memorable in the Marava country by a lamentable attack on Christianity which culminated in the martyrdom of that great missionary John De Britto. He had succeeded in curing of a grievous disorder and in subsequently converting a prince named Tirya Tēvan, who is stated to have been the rightful heir to the throne of Rāmnād and to have been set aside in favor of the Kilavan. On his conversion Tirya Tēvan was compelled to renounce polygamy and to tell his wives that all except one must thenceforth be nothing more than sisters to him. The ladies of his harem very naturally regarded this resolution in the light of a grievous insult, and after repeatedly attempting in vain to induce him to permit them to continue at all events to live with him as his wives, resolved to revenge themselves on the author of their humiliation. In pursuance of this resolution one of them named Kadalei, who was the niece of the Sēthupati, went off to Rāmnād and laid her case before her uncle with all the effect that could be produced by vehement entreaties, by tears and sobs and groans. What cried she, was it to be endured that she, a princess of a noble house, should be driven like a dog from her palace by a vile magician, a low impostor? And were the ancient Gods of her country to be openly disgraced by a stranger? Was the whole country to bow to the Parangas?

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1705 TO A.D. 1741.

long and uninteresting reign. Vyaya Ranga Choka Náthar's absurd liberality. The weakness of his government.—Marava affairs.—Works of irrigation.—Famine. The price of grain - The drought of 1709 - The great inundation.—The death of the Kilavan. —Salt—Disturbances.—End of the long famine.—Wars in the Marava country. Thandá Tēvan and Baváru Sankara.—The Rámnád kingdom divided.—The Ráyar of Chandragiri. —The King dies. The political situation—His widow Minkshá adopts a son. The party against her. The second puttam.—Vangáru Tirumala's claims.—Another Mahometan attack. Tanjore is taken. Vangáru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khán.—The award.—The Queen calls in Chandá Sahib.—His oath.—He is disconcerted.—He leaves Trichinopoly and returns.—Operations against Madura.—The battle of Annaya Náyahkan-ár. Vangáru Tirumala flees.—Chandá Sahib throws off the mask. The Queen takes

long and uninteresting reign — Vijaya Ranga Choka Nātha's absurd liberality. — The weakness of his government. — Marava affairs. — Works of irrigation. — Famine. — The price of grain. The drought of 1709. The great inundation. The death of the Kilavan. Sati. — Disturbances. — End of the long famine. Wars in the Marava country. Thandā Pēvā and Ravāni Sankara. — The Pāmnād kingdom divided. The Rājya of Chandragiri. The King dies. The political situation. His widow Mindikari adopts a son. The party against her. The second puttam. — Vangāru Tirumaci's claims. — Another Mahometan attack. Tanjore is taken. Vangāru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khān. — The award. The Queen calls in Chandā Sahēb. — His oath. — He is disconcerted. He leaves Trichinopoly and returns. Operations against Madura. — The battle of Ammaya-Nāyakkān-ār. — Vangāru Tirumala flees. — Chandā Sahēb throws off the mask. The Queen takes poison. The Mahrattas are called in. The defeat and death of Daust Ali. — The fall of Trichinopoly and capture of Chandā Sahēb. The kingdom finally falls to pieces.

we have now come to the end of that series of Jesuit letters which usefully illustrates the modern political history of Madura, and from this time forward we shall have to rely almost entirely upon the MSS and the secondary evidence afforded by English historians and curiously enough the nearer we approach the period of the commencement of British ascendancy in the south, the more meagre and unsatisfactory will our information become.

Vijaya Ranga Choka Nāth's long reign which commenced about

In consequence of this visitation the famine raged in the Marava country more furiously than ever in 1710 and numbers emigrated to Tanjore and Madura. And the misery of the people was aggravated in no slight degree by the death of the K. Iwan, and the disturbances by which it was as a matter of course attended. The veteran died aged upwards of eighty, and after a reign of a quarter of a century. During the latter portion of this period his animosity against Christianity had either given way to a better feeling or had remained inactive and at no time since the foundation of the Madura Mission had the missionaries so much to be thankful for as they had in this period. There seems to have been no active persecution, and the work of converting the heathen went on more busily than ever.

The death of the K. Iwan was followed by one of those painful spectacles in which the misguided spirit of Hinddism so much delights. No fewer than forty-seven of his wives burnt themselves, I should perhaps more correctly say were burnt upon his funeral pile. A large and deep ditch was dug at some little distance from the town of Rámnád, and nearly filled up with a vast quantity of wood, and at the proper moment the body of the dead Prince nobly clothed and adorned with sand upon the top of the pile, which was

then set fire to it at the bottom in many places, whilst diverse ceremonies were performed by the attendant Brāhmanas. When the lower part of the pile had begun to burn briskly the troop of victims drew near to what was to be their sacrificial altar, all covered from head to foot with jewels and crowned with garlands of flowers, and began to move round the pit in procession. Shortly afterwards the chief widow held up aloft the sword which her departed lord had been accustomed to carry and addressing his successor spoke the following words "See here," and she "the weapon with which our King was wont to triumph over his enemies be you careful never to use it for any other purpose, and above all never to stain it with the blood of your subjects. Govern them as he governed them, like a father and like him you will live happily for many years." As for me, since he is no more there is nothing left that should keep me in this world, and I have not to follow him whither he is gone. With these words she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, who received it without betraying any signs of emotion, and then with a wild cry threw herself boldly on the pile, calling loudly upon the names of her Gods.

The second widow was a Kalia woman the sister of the Tonduman Rāja of Pūṭhu Kōttai, who as has been shown above was appointed by the Kōtavan soon after the commencement of his reign. He was present on this occasion and had to take from his sister the jewels with which she was adorned and whilst so doing he could not restrain his tears. Throwing himself upon her bosom he embraced her with the tenderest affection but the unhappy woman appeared

to be all unmoved and after looking for a few moments now at the pile now at the attendants and crying out now and again O Siva, Siva, threw herself on the burning mass with the same boldness as the first.

The other widows followed one by one some going to meet their death with a firm countenance others with an air of abstraction and bewilderment. One only more timid than her fellows ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who was standing by and implored him to save her. But her entreaties were ineffectual. The man was violating the explicit orders of his priests in being present at this ceremony and being alarmed at public attention being attracted to him shook off the unfortunate woman with so great violence that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. At

He came on board the family with a fever that was a frame shattering with a gradual onset of swelling with some paroxysms reached his home before he was at a loss by a raging fever which a few hours afterwards ended his life.

Wherever the men were not shot by these wrecks had no time in showing them out up on the top of the pier they no longer felt the heat of the flames behind them but they began to make their way off the pier and escape toward the beach. In vain they tried to struggle they were fighting a losing battle and the great waves were beating against them and reaching the edge of the pier and then the sea was a with overpowering enormous and gradual. And in order to see that the men, and at the same time with a the coming of the night, it became necessary for them to be a lot of work in saving a few bodies of the victims. After this time the men gave up all attempts to save or find at all, were altogether lost in the crashing and surging of the flames. When the sea was about to retire the Brahmins were sent to the old smoking pier, and after performing more ceremonies respecting the charred bodies and bones, and having carefully wrapped them in cloth, they carried them to the mound of Rameshwara and there threw them into the sea. After this the pier was filled up and a temple was erected over its site in honor of a departed king and his wives.

I am stated by Father Martin that at the time when the Russian's widow burnt herself, she still was excited only by the views and considerations of Princes and that a race of ordinary rank, whether Bohemians or not, were not very used by the custom of the country to be so much interested in the grave. We even find that the Russians themselves in former times refused the act of self-immolation, alleging to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and therefore bound in honor to follow the custom of their ancestors. And we must remember Bohemian widows thought it proper to go through the ceremony. Among other customs the practice was somewhat rare. Father Martin further gives to us his opinion that winners of property rank could marry again still without disgrace and total loss of honor, and that those who committed to act in circumstances with the view as if their duty were overborne by the urgent entreaties and representations of their relatives,

Shortly before his death the Kilavan had nominated as his successor one Bavani Sankara Tévan, an illegitimate son by a favorite concubine. But the nomination was not approved of by the Maravans, and the old Séthupati was compelled to sanction the choice of the people which fell upon one Vijaya Rag'hu Nát'ha, who was accordingly crowned Séthupati. It appears from the Jesuit letters that this man was the younger son of the Kilavan and brother of that Vaduga Nát'ha of whom mention has been made at page 224 ante and that the latter was set aside in favor of the former as being reasonable and fit to rule than his brother. It seems probable, however that neither of these Princes was a natural son of the Kilavan, as he would scarcely have nominated a bastard in preference to his own son, and would hardly have passed over the elder son in favor of the younger when the ability of that elder son to rule had been admitted by the Kilavan in appointing him governor of Orniyfir, and afterwards of the important province of Arundangi and the very considerable territories attached thereto. Ponnasmi Tévan's memorandum makes Vijaya Rag'hu Nát'ha to have been the adopted son of the Kilavan, and no doubt this was so.

Vijaya Rag'hu Nát'ha was ardently attached to Hindúism, and became an unrelenting persecutor of Christianity though he never went to the same length as the Kilavan. But his brother was always an active patron of the missionaries, and it would appear that after the death of the Kilavan Vaduga Nát'ha became a convert.

The year 1720 brought with it the cessation of a famine which appears to have lasted for a long series of years, and perhaps commenced in the terrible year 1709, the year of the great storm and inundation. An abundant harvest was gathered in, and the people speedily forgot their troubles. But the country was thrown into confusion once more by the illness and death of the Séthupati. The Râja of Pucka Kottai insisted no doubt by Bavani Sankara Tévan had entered into an alli-

the remaining 1000 was divided into five parts of which three were assigned to the king, the fourth to his wife, and the fifth to his son. The king became Seto-pati with the title Kuntala-kuta-Vijaya-Raghu-Natha, and two parts were made over to the queen, who assumed the title of Rani-Mutta-Vijaya-Raghu-Natha. The third son, Tejvan, though he was more distinguished than his two sisters, was not so highly esteemed as being the youngest son. He was a brave and valiant man, and the king of Sivagangol.

[illegible]

What is now preserved at the shrine of the Kumbh Mela at Nashik is stated to have the reign of the Raja Ranga of the Vijayanagar. It has been distinguished only by an inscription in Devanagari to Brhmanas and Churches, and the history of the Karnataca Government says nothing more about him, so that he gave many gifts to his own land and every other sacred place. But an unusual few even of importance seem to have occurred during his time, namely the surrender of the kingdom to the Rayer of Jaundragul. Two Telugu copper plates are

He is said to have assembled a force of eight thousand cavalry and some infantry and to have despatched them under the command of two Brāhmanas of the Queen's party Clōvināyaya and Rā-anayya with instructions to commence operations by gaining possession of the fort of Dinagūḥ. The troops stationed in the neighbourhood were defeated or forced to retire and it was very speedily taken by storm. The army then marched upon Madura, and as a last hope Vangara Tirumana hastily collected a few troops, horse and foot, and sent them to Annamaya-Nāyakkan-ār to oppose an enemy four times as numerous leaving the capital completely unprotected. A battle was soon afterwards fought and the Madura troops being reinforced by those of a few Poligars, seem to have made a determined stand: but their leaders were both killed after having fought bravely for some hours, and after this misfortune no further resistance was offered to the invaders. There was now nothing to stop Chandā Sahēb's victorious Generals and as they were about to enter Madura, Vangara Tirumana hastily quitted it and fled for protection to the Raja of Sivagangai, by whom he was kindly received and placed for safety in the fort of Velaik-Kutcha. The whole country was then overrun by Chandā Sahēb's troops, and speedily reduced to at least

improbable in itself but we have the authority of the *Mission du Madure* for the statement that after the death of Daurat Ali the Maharrattas "spread carnage and desolation over the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura." And as Vangaru Tirumala was protected by the Râja of Sivagangai or Shovungunga as the English call it, and invited the Maharrattas to come and help him, nothing could be more natural than to suppose that they marched to Sivagangai and had an interview with the pretender before laying siege to the town occupied by the usurper of the Madura kingdom.

The fall of Trichinopoly in March 1741 and the capture of its master had been preceded by the death of Bada Sahib the governor of Madura, and that of another brother of Chandâ Sahib, named according to Orme Saunuck Sahib, who had been appointed to the command of the fort of Dindigul and was killed in attempting to succour Chandâ Sahib. Accordingly the kingdom of Madura was now reduced to a state of complete anarchy, from which it was rescued only to be finally dismembered and divided amongst a number of petty chiefs and adventurers. But little needs to be told of the deeds of these men, and one more chapter will bring us down

possession in behalf of the Rāja of Mysore, and was soon afterwards deposed by Veṅkaṭa Śrīveṅkaṭa the Daivādy of the Sūbhāṇa, and Tannavarāya Palla, the Māstara of Sivanganga. It is stated that these two besieged him from the 30th of the month Pīṣṭika to to the 20th of Kārtika 1752-53 and on that day succeeded in forcing him to capitulate and that they thereupon crowned the adopted son of Mūṣaka, and established him in Madura. He ruled for sixteen months, and was deposed by two anonymous Captains who were shortly afterwards besieged and forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Daivādy of Rāmaṇḍa who had entered into an offensive alliance against them. This account seems to me at first sight highly improbable. Why should Captain Cope be described as being in the service of the Rāja of Mysore? And why should he enter into an alliance with the Daivādy of Rāmaṇḍa? And then the mere fact of the account being opposed to that given by Orma renders it very suspicious, not to my mind at least. But on the other hand the Śrī this book contains a piece of evidence which is exceedingly favorable to the credibility of its account of Captain Cope's acts. It states unambiguously that he polluted the town by causing many cows to be killed and eaten within its walls. This was a crime which none but an European would commit, and the commission of which a native historian would hardly record without good reason. And the account is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS, and by a memoir furnished to me by a Madras native gentleman, and indirectly by other MSS. whilst however improbable it may appear to be at first sight, it is in no way inconsistent with the course of events which are known to have occurred about this time.

The Record Office MS states that Mayana sold the country to the Marāṭhas, and then returned into private life and lived in the fortress

The Record Office MS. states that Mayana sold the country to the Mysoreans, and then retired into private life and lived in the fortress of Tirumbār and that Kaku Sahēb, a Mysorean General, took possession of Madura, and was compelled to surrender the fort to Tāndavarāya Pillai and Vēlivan Sārva after fighting with them during the period stated in the Sri-tāla book. And it then speaks of the coronation and reign of Vangāru Tirumala's son, and of his subsequent expulsion by the Mahometans and of the defeat of those Captains by the Rāmād Dāvarāy but says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Dāvarāy.

All the native MSS. apparently concur with Orme in stating that after ransoming Madura for a year, Aliam Khān went to Trichinopoly to take part in the war that was going on round that fortress at the

However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hood-winked or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Mīnākehi was declared king of the Pāndya-mandalam by Mayana and his colleagues, assisted by the governments of Rāmād and Sivagangai and enjoyed a species of mock sovereignty for some few months. He was then deposed and sent back to Vēlai-Kūrchu by his Mahometan patrons, who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevely a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohammad Parki, and Nahi Khān, and was dated the 28th November 1752 and it would seem to be not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of

Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate him to the obscurity from out of which he had congregated. Mayana is said to have been in his turn exiled by the Dastar of Ichanku, but whether this is true or not it is impossible to say. According to the M. Muhammad Paki was in possession of Madura in 1753. Perhaps although he was attacked and defeated by the Raimul Dastar, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura as a tributary and vassal of Raimul, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the P. Raja of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Sethupati, sided with Chettia Nair and the Mysoreans against Mohammad Ali, and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana when Mayana changed sides and took himself to the N. side.

In the beginning of 1753 an expedition was sent by Mohammad Ali against Madura and Tanjore, consisting of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys furnished by the Honorable Company and commanded by Colonel Heron, an officer newly arrived from England, and the other and horse commanded by M. K. Abdul Khan, the Nair's uncle brother. The operations of these forces are described at length by Orme, and it will be sufficient for me to notice only a few of them very briefly.

As soon as the English appeared in sight of Madura, the gates were thrown open to them without any resistance being offered and apparently without any treachery being employed. A consultation from the Sethupati awaited their arrival, and Colonel Heron was induced by the promise held out to him to enter into an alliance with that chief upon his own responsibility and without waiting for orders from Madras. After the business was concluded, it was resolved to forthwith attack Mayana the governor of Madura, who

After vainly endeavouring to come to terms with Mak'hphâz Khân, Mohammod Yûsuf marched with a considerable force to Tinnevely. No great results were obtained by him. Disturbances every where prevailed. The Kallans ravaged the country in every direction. The great Hyder Ali invaded the district round Madura, and was with difficulty beaten off. And lastly no revenues worth speaking of could be collected. Captain Callaud was therefore sent after awhile to report upon the state of the country. His representations speedily convinced the Council at Madras that no permanent settlement of the country could be hoped for so long as Mak'hphâz Khân was permitted to remain in it, arrogating to himself all kinds of power and authority and maintaining an armed force, and it was accordingly proposed to the Nabob that his brother should be induced to quit the south by the promise of an adequate maintenance. The Nabob sent an agent to his brother in the Tinnevely country, with authority to make certain proposals to him, but nothing came of the attempt. Mak'hphâz Khân was a man of a foolish and stubborn of their substance. The Kallans on the north and Pongars on the west ravaged unchecked whatever lands were cultivated between their boundaries and the tracts close to Madura, and in the south things were if possible in a still worse state, as Mak'hphâz Khân had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the principal of the rebel Pongars, and there was no longer any hope of bringing him to reason. The Company thought proper in these circumstances to grant the farm of both the Madura and Tinnevely countries to Mohammod Yûsuf for one year for the very moderate sum of five lacs. He returned to his charge in the spring of 1739, and having resolved to apply strong remedies to the evils from which it was suffering, commenced his work by falling savagely on the Kallans of Nattam. Avenues were cut through their woods, and as they

Mohammed Yûsuf continued to govern the Madura country for some time longer and appears to have made himself exceedingly powerful. The memoirs furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan and another furnished by a Mahometan gentleman agree in stating that he conquered all the Pongars without exception, and exacted tribute from the King of Travancore, and he overran the Sivagangei and Rânnâd countries. But these successes brought no profit to the Honorable Company's government. Either the expenses of Mohammed Yûsuf's administration were too great to admit of his acting up to his pecuniary engagements, or he thought he might render himself sufficiently strong to maintain himself in independence, and acting in accordance with the long established and almost unvarying custom of India delayed remitting tribute to his Lord until his Lord came with an overpowering army to enforce obedience and collect arrears.

This event happened towards the end of 1762. A considerable force was sent against him, and he was regularly besieged in his capital by an army of Englishmen Mahometans and Maravars. The

of the Dindigul country between the years 1740 and 1790 we must now see what happened in the Marava countries during the same period.

It will be remembered that somewhere about the year 1730 the ancient kingdom of Rāmnād was divided into five parts after Tanjore had taken the northern provinces, and that Kattaya Tēvan took three of them, and Seshavarna Tēvan two. Soon after this event the Sāthupatī seems to have acquired the name of the Pēnya or elder Maravan whilst the Rāja of Srivagangai was known as the Chinna or younger Maravan and English writers of the eighteenth century always speak of the greater and lesser Marava Pongas and countries. And the two countries were called by the Tamils the Pēnya and Chinna or great and little *Vadakkens* or divisions.

It is stated in Ponnusāmi Tēvan's memorandum that soon after the division took place the two Maravans joined their forces and attacked Tanjore with the object of recovering the provinces which had been annexed by the Rāja as the price of his intervention on their behalf and that this disgraceful breach of faith having been rewarded with success, the Maravans shared the recovered territories.

The Sāthupatī's Dānavāy Venian-Sārveikāran seems to have been a man of great energy and ability and to have succeeded in getting all the power of the Rāmnād government into his own hands; and whilst his name is occasionally mentioned in history that of his master is never heard of after his accession to the throne.

Kattaya Tēvan died probably about the year 1752, and his son

was thereupon crowned. He died after reigning for only a few days or weeks and then Veerar Sērvēkaran crowned Rāṣṣa Tēvan, a cousin of the deceased Kattaya. Immediately afterwards the Rāja of Tanjore invaded the Rāmnād country but he was at once repulsed by the Dalavāy.

In 1752, according to Orma, the Nāṭṭapatti sent 4,000 Peons and Kadans to the assistance of Chanda Sahib whilst his old and true enemy the Rāja of Tanjore assisted the Nabob with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot under the command of his General Mottuckjee and the Tondaiman Rāja assisted him with 400 horse and 3,000 Kattaya.

The part taken by Veerar Sērvēkaran in setting up the adopted son of Mūṭṭakam on the throne of Madura in 1752 has been already shown. It was probably during the short reign of that unfortunate prince that the Rāmnād Dalavāy made an expedition into the south, and attempted to reduce the Poligars to submission, and restore order throughout the Madura kingdom. It is said that he subdued all the Poligars but the Ettiyapuram, who was venerated as a Guru and was presumably spared on that account. And a curious circumstance is recorded in connection with Veerar Sērvēkaran's raid amongst the Poligars, which ought not to be passed over without notice. It appears from Ponnusāmi Tēvan's memorandum that in order to show his superiority over those whom he defeated, he, like other māraṭṭāya, used to cause men to be prepared and thrown on the ground in front of his seat and etiquette required the Poligars who came to pay their respects to him and receive his orders, to prostrate themselves at full length in the mud on approaching the presence. One is scarcely prepared for such an exhibition of arro-

gance on the part of the Dalavāys and still less on the part of the Dalavāy of Rāmnād. It seems to be inferrible however from the memorandum that Velhan Sīrvaikāran was the first minister of Rāmnād who attained the exalted titles of Dalavāy and Kārbār, and possibly it was owing to his head being turned by his successes and by the acquisition of these dignities that he was induced to behave in this fashion.

An intrigue of which the particulars are not known resulted in an attempt to ruin the successful Dalavāy and he was recalled from Tinnevely to Rāmnād. Here he turned the tables on his adversaries, and rebelled against the Sēthupati, who fled for safety to the fort of Pāmbam. The Dalavāy assembled some troops took the

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fort and imprisoned the Sēthupati. And having deposed him raised to the throne a member of the Kāven's family named Sellu or Vajra Rag'bandha Tēvan. During the reign of this Sēthupati which is said to have lasted six years the Rāja of Tanjore again invaded Rāmnād and was again defeated by the able Dalavāy

And in 1753 occurred Colonel Heron's expedition to Madura, on which occasion a deputy of the Sēthupati waited on the English commander and after asking his pardon for the mistake committed by the Sēthupati in joining with Channā Saheb induced him eventually to enter into an alliance with his master, which however was shortly afterwards repudiated by the authorities at Madras in consequence of the strong representations made by their allies the Tondimam and Rāja of Tanjore.

Sethu Tavan died about the year 1760 and was succeeded by his nephew Mutu Ramasinga Sēthupati, a child of two months.

Valiam Sērvaikāran seems to have died about this time and was succeeded in office by a man named Thomōtharam Pillai. Ann, the mother of the infant Sēthupati, Mutu Tiruvāy Nāchayār, seems to have acted as Regent.

Whether the Nābol Mohammad Ali undertook any expedition against the Sēthupati before the time of Mohammad Yūsuf, does not appear. I think it may be concluded however that he did not. It is perfectly clear that nothing was done against him before Colonel Heron's expedition or he would not have been anxious to enter into an alliance with the English. And the state of things in the south between 1753 and 1760 was such that no attempt to reduce to submission so powerful a chief as Valiam Sērvaikāran could have been thought of by the Nābol's subordinates. It was probably after the death of this minister and at the commencement of the regency in the year 1761 or thereabouts that Mohammad Yūsuf first directed his attention to the state of Rāmnād, and conceived the idea of exacting tribute from the infant Sēthupati.

In 1763 as has been already shown the Dattavāy Thomōtharam Pillai joined in the siege of Madura, and did what lay in his power to effect the ruin of Mohammad Yūsuf.

In 1770 the Rāja of Tanjore was again defeated, this time most decisively by an army under the command of Thomōtharam Pillai and this was the last occasion on which the troops of Rāmnād were permitted to distinguish themselves.

In 1773 the British Government sent a force into the Rāmnād country under the command of General Joseph Smith; and it was speedily reduced to submission. And the Queen Regent and the minor King were made State prisoners.

In 1785 the country was described by Colonel Fullarton as being fifty miles in length by thirty in breadth; and as being well-peopled by an industrious population, and abounding in cattle. The revenues amounted to about five lacs of Rupees per annum, and the yearly tribute to the Nabob had been fixed at the sum of Rupees 1,75,000. The country had been managed since its annexation by renters; and had been for the most part free from disturbances until the eventful year 1781; when it was overrun by a host of rebels under the leadership of one Māpillei Tēvan, a relation of the Sēthupati's family. The disturbances then excited were put an end to by the expedition of 1783 under Colonel Fullarton, to which allusion has been before made. And no event happened after that year which needs to be recorded in this Part.

Much less is known about the history of Sivagangai than about that of Rāmnād.

According to Orme the Rāja of Tanjore in 1749 sent his General Monarkjee into the country of the lesser Maravan in order to wrest from him the fort of Arundāngi; and the Tondiman assisting him, the enterprise was successful. It does not appear who was the Rāja at this time: but it seems probable that Seshavarua Tēvan was dead, and that his son Muttu Vaduga Nātha Udeiyā Tēvan had succeeded him. It also seems probable that this Rāja was a man of no energy or ability; and left the entire conduct of affairs in the hands of his chief minister.

In 1762 Tāndaverkya Pillei the minister of Sivagangai joined in the siege of Madura described before, and in placing Mīnākshi's adopted son upon the throne.

In 1762 and the following year he engaged in the operations against Mohammed Yūsuf.

In 1773 two dependants of the Rāja, named the Periya or elder and Chiana or younger Murdu, conspired against him and apparently killed him at the battle of Kalaiyār-kōvil. Soon afterwards the country was reduced together with that of Rāmnād: and the Rāja's widow, who was at the time pregnant, escaped together with many of the principal persons in the kingdom to Mysoor.

In 1781 the Mardus returned to Sivagangai at the head of a number of armed men, and being unopposed proceeded to rule the country in the name of Hyder Ali, after setting up some obscure individual as a kind of puppet Rāja. In 1783 this state of things was put an end to by the Southern Army: and shortly afterwards the widow of the late Rāja was appointed Zamindāni by the Nabob.

In 1785 the Sivagangai country was thus described by Colonel Fullarton:—

"The territory of Shevigunga, or the Little Marawar, stretches
"from the sea coast on the east to the districts of Mellore and
"Madura on the west, and from the country of Tondiman and the
"Nattam Collieries upon the north, to the territories of the Great
"Marawar on the south, containing about fifty miles in length and
"forty miles in breadth. The soil, in general, is unfriendly to the
"growth of corn, though not quite destitute of running streams or
"artificial reservoirs, but the country is overgrown with thorns and
"bushes. The woods of Calicoll, nearly forty miles in circumfer-
"ence, are secured with barriers and other defences around the fort
"of Calicoll, which is situated in the centre of the thickets, and
"considered as a refuge from exaction or invasion. These woods
"inhabitants are numerous, and can bring twelve thousand fighting
"men into the field, armed with swords, pikes, spears, and firelocks.
"Though less barbarous than the Collieries, their neighbours, yet
"arts and industry have made little progress among them. The
"country is capable of great improvement, but at present hardly
"yields more than five laas of Rupees to the Rajah, who pays
"1,75,000 Rupees to the Nabob of Arcot. The Rajah is of the
"Taver family, and a descendant of the sovereigns of the Great
"Marawar, from which Shevigunga was separated at no very distant
"period."

The Kalla country or country of robbers, though considerably larger than the Madura has no history which needs to be told; if indeed it can boast of any history. Colonel Fullarton's description of it in 1785 would probably be applicable to any period except the present century during the last five hundred years; and if it was at any previous time inhabited by a peaceful and civilized population, all vestiges of that population have perished. Colonel Fullarton writes as follows:—

" The country of the Collieries, including the territories of Tondi-
 " man, Mellore and Nattam, extends from the sea coast to the con-
 " fines of Madura, in a range of sixty miles by sixty-five; with the
 " exception of some spots, which have accidentally been cultivated,
 " it is overgrown with thickets, and inhabited by savage tribes.
 " Before that country can be rendered valuable, the woods must be
 " cleared, the strongholds occupied, and the Collieries compelled
 " to relinquish their predatory habits; for in its present condition,
 " fertile tracts are lost to cultivation, and the wild inhabitants
 " amounting to thirty or forty thousand men in arms, under dif-
 " ferent Chiefs, endanger public safety in moments of hostility."

In concluding this Part of the manual I must take a final glance at the state and progress of Christianity in the Madura country during the last century. There is but little to tell. We have seen the mode in which Father Bouchet was treated by the great Dalavay. A letter of 1709 shows that the Kallans had relapsed from their temporary conversion; and in consequence of the weakness of the then Government had become so bold and wicked that even missionaries dared not traverse their country without a guide. And they were not only masters of their own country: but made life and property insecure in all the districts adjoining theirs. Gang robberies by torch-light were of nightly occurrence; and in every direction herds of cattle were lifted and murders committed by them with impunity. The Séthupati had chastised them repeatedly; and had established forts in their country. But all was to no purpose. The garrisons were surprised and slain, and the Kallans became more troublesome than ever.

The defection of the Kallans was more than counterbalanced by successes in other quarters: and in 1713 there were upwards of a million converts. But in 1714 and the following year there was so much persecution in the Marava country that the missionaries were compelled to quit it for a time. Converts were horribly ill-used and mutilated; the Churches were destroyed; and the open profession of the true faith exposed every one to great danger. But in 1720 the Séthupati relented, and began to treat the Christians with some little kindness and favour.

The Poligars and Kallans had been taught the danger of open disobedience to British rule by the expeditions sent against them on several occasions: but they were not yet prepared to lay aside their wild and predatory habits, much less to become steady and regular payers of tribute and rent. Accordingly we find Mr. McLeod complaining at an early period of his administration of the turbulence and want of respect for authority evinced by troublesome chieftains and by the Kallans: and their rebellious disposition was not improved by the knowledge that the English Government was engaged in a new war, the results of which no man could foresee. A letter of June 1791 shows that troops were required to maintain the Collector's authority. Another of November 1791 shows that Coimbatore with the surrounding country was then in the hands of the enemy. In February 1792 the Ideiy, Pottai and Palani Poligars were plundering in the Coimbatore district. At the same time the Râja of Travancore was throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the Collector taking possession of Kambam and Gûdalâr, which undoubtedly belonged to the Diindigul district. The Chingna Maradu was engaged in plunder-